793 /271 cont./
776 the people of Z'init' henceforth give 24 loaves of bread apiece,
794 instead of 22 as before. The anecdote seems like an excerpt
782 from Pausanias.

But the Imt'ddan do not restrict their homage to Lalla Aziza
776 alone. They furnish Sidi Âbdallah u Sâîd of the a. Tamment
794 1/30 of their cereals, a similar portion going to their mosques,
[431] and still another to the poor. In addition, each foyer pays a kid
● [735] every two years.

They also give the descendants of Sidi ᶜAyad, still in the Sous, offerings of a discretionary amount, but owe him a feast every year and a kid every two years. The village of Tagunit, and it alone, pays a cens to the neighboring zaouia of Assttif. Lastly, a sheep is sent to the fqih of the Mez'u'd'a for "Easter," that is, for his tafaska (oblation of the Aid Ççghîr).

The differentiation of the recipients is therefore extreme, like that of the donors, even within a small canton. The proportionality observed concerning these parts of the harvest itself is to be noted. Here 1/30.

In the a. Lh'sen, it is the rhythm of one measure per 80 tin s-tmanin that is applied for the dues in barley and maize; one for 100 counted for the nuts, etc. With regard to the "Friday" of butter, the rite is generally observed.

794 It is in the a. Lh'sen that examples will be taken up again in order to study another aspect, that of the remittance to the beneficiaries. In general, the latter divide among themselves by geographic sector the benefices of the chchard' called tisura,
794 equivalent copied from the ar. /Arabic/ futûh'ât. They inherit
437 them, distribute them, mortgage their revenues, sell them, or assign them by drawing lots, as if they were dealing with a mobilizable right: and, in fact, this is what it is. So true is it that the institution of the Atlas juxtaposes in clever shales, if I may venture to say it, the most diverse orders of ideas. In the case at hand, the "mystical" aspect and profane aspect adhere closely. The alienability of a transferable share is one with the ritual entity. Commercialization and the sacred are juxtaposed

/126 cont./

*631 712 mountains, it is those of Taourirt at the Warzazat, of Asarag in the Tifnout, of Izoggweir in the Zagmouzen, of Taliwin among the Souktana of the Sous, of Bou Zougga among the Ida ou Ziki.

*631 174 The very exercise of the power of the great chiefs of the mountains again confirms our first impression of an anciently established feudal regime. If we question them, the Berbère /Berber/ lords will tell us that their ancestors formerly governed nearly all the tribes that are subject to them today. The latter thus find themselves, after generations, yielding in the most complete obedience. However it may have been in the past, so difficult to know now, caliphates, relatives, or allies of the great kaids, by living in their valley fortresses, ensure the transmission of their orders, scrupulously executed by the subjects. In the

*631 342 tribal fractions the agents of the caliphates are well-established sheiks, whose houses, carefully constructed, given a coat of whitewash, are easily distinguished amidst poor villages with earthen walls.

*631 Finally, if we observe the scenes of daily life, an immense distance appears to us to separate the great chief, who, from the depths of his casbah, directs all the politics of the mountains, from the humble farmers hard at work, bent over the ground in their narrow valleys, whose appearance so poorly evokes to our eyes the fierce partisans of Almohade times. Upon the passage of the lord, one sees the subjects advance in crowds to kiss the flap of his garment or to bow before him in an attitude of deepest respect. Men-at-arms, peasants, Jews, and beggars crowd one

• [735] another in the /127/ courtyard of the feudal fortresses and wait for the alms of a meal from the generosity of the chief.

*631 *634 Doubtless, it must certainly be admitted, we would be told, if we insisted a little, there are to be found at the border of the great commands some lost cantons of the high mountains whose inhabitants do not unreservedly favor obeying the casbahs' orders. They are the very ones that Brives visited not long ago in the Atlas and that he calls the "Douars-tampon." These small villages,

[721] more or less independent, "enjoy," he tells us, "a certain autonomy; the adjoining kaids each have their partisans, combat is

/247 cont./

466 476 The "touiza" is obligatory with regard to the taleb, the moqaddem, or the amghar; except in the case where a beneficiary is without resources, food is offered to the workers by the one who uses them. Inversely, one sees at present in the same [651] regions subject to the authority of the Makhzen /makhzan/ the [177] inhabitants of the village furnish to the kaids a number of days of "touiza" regulated by custom or fixed by the chief himself according to his needs. Each one brings his food and must often also contribute toward the maintenance of the kaid's slaves put in charge of the supervision of the work. This institution, which [178] was originally a work of mutual aid, has become in this way a [651] source of abuse, and its name is associated in the complaints of the montagnards with that of the "frida," an extraordinary contribution that a representative of the Sultan, kaid or caliphate, levies as often as he can in Berbère /Berber/ country.

* 634 652 [651] [681] In the independent fractions, it is exceptional that the /248/ "taqbilt" treasury is reconstituted by means of extraordinary taxes or "frida" paid by each household. One-third of the fines paid by the guilty, reserved for this purpose, most often suffices, and the Berbères /Berbers/ feel profound repugnance toward paying contributions, with which the "Bled el Makhzen" is overburdened.

* 735 794 431 [465] On the other hand, they acquit themselves willingly, either through the medium of the common treasury or directly, of numerous traditional tithes paid to the marabouts and the poor. In the Anti-Atlas, where all transactions and the measuring of harvests are done at the "agadir," the part for the saints of the country and their descendants, the "igourramen," as well as the salary of the minor functionary charged with watching over the harvests or the collective storehouse, are taken on the spot by the official measurer. The Koranic regulation of taxes is in this way observed in spirit, if not in form, but for the exclusive benefit of the local saints and of the zaouias, which are, as has often been said, an integral part of Berbère /Berber/ society.

[171] Likewise among the tribes of the Jbala of the Habt one sees the shorfa /shurfa/ and the poor benefit from the sum total of the legal alms. The montagnards of the north of Morocco "acquit

/248 cont./

735 794 431 191 themselves strictly of all duties incumbent upon them as members of the Mussulman community, but the community, for them, is restricted to the tribe -- or even the fraction -- and they do not conceive of the idea of bringing together in the hands of the Makhzen /makhzan/ the resources of the whole Mussulman community" (2).

2. Michaux-Bellaire, "Quelques tribus de montagnes /Some Mountain Tribes/," pp. 51-52. The same applies to the administration of the habous /wakf/ of mosques entrusted by the "jemaᶜa" of the Jbala to Nadirs /functionaries charged with conserving the property of the mosque/ of the tribe or fraction, or to the descendants of a Marabout, ibid., p. 175. Compare the managers of the habous property among the Djbala with the oukil /financial agent/ of the Kabyle mosque. Hanoteau and Letourneux, Kabylie /Kabylia/, Vol. II, p. 35.

423 III. Absence of collective properties. -- In the territories of the Sous populated by sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ one would look in vain for collective lands belonging in joint possession to tribes or fractions.

423 191 In the regions of Morocco in which tribes or entire confederations have recently disputed the possession of the soil, like the plains of the northern Gharb and the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/, one understands that individual ownership has not yet been able to assert itself in the course of a state of war that sets against each other groups /249/ constituted for defending or conquering a territory. On the contrary, in a country where the Berbère /Berber/ must make his fields himself by rolling stones on the flank of the torrents in order to create terraces, or work tenaciously in the minuscule gardens of the oases, each one is master of his possessions and disposes of them as he pleases. In the summit region

/272 cont./

*634 681 178 Now it sometimes happens that on the scales of settlement thus established there are substituted for the names of all the notables of the fraction those of three or four important personages, who give their approbation in the name of all. At the same time, the primitive rule of distribution of the fines is perverted. One third is apportioned to the moqaddem, one third to these influential men, who give themselves the title of "ᶜayan" (1).

1. Arabic "ᶜayān," notables.

[652] one third to the "taqbilt," represented by effaced and starving inflas. With the same stroke the common treasury disappears.

*634 671 178 A decisive step is taken when we see the traditional name of "moqaddem" disappear in the acts to make way for that of a personage henceforth called "the respected amghar So-and-So." Near the name of the amghar are found only those of the notables, the "ᶜayan." An additional clause stipulates that the new master [681] of the canton will collect, in addition to a third of the fines, a [651] third of the ᶜachour, the Koranic tax that the Berbère /Berber/ [794] republics paid up to then wholly to religious personages or to the [735] poor. Often, even, a measure of barley per household was [465] granted for the benefit of the amghar. Personal power is henceforth established.

*634 661 578 613 726 These beginnings did not exist without requiring long and patient efforts of the new chief. Before taking authority, the amghar has arranged for himself the support of the heads of the most important "ikhs," and by /273/ clever intrigues he has succeeded in setting aside those who were hostile to him or making them disappear. But almost always this internal revolution does not take place without combat. Another notable, equally rich and courageous, opposes the ambitious amghar with all his forces, with his "ikhs"; war breaks out and is waged furiously until the defeated one is killed or banished with all his people; his village falls into ruins and the victorious chief retains power as long as he has the strength to do it and escapes the

/412 cont./

*631 this progress still remains precarious, since passions, restrained
648 during the years in which the authority of the Sultan's representa-
17 tives is exercised without being contested, break out anew at the
[578] first "siba," with a still greater violence. The peace in which
[669] the new subjects then live is bought by the destruction of most of the traditions and customs, habitudes of local government and of primitive justice, which for the inhabitants of the mountains are inseparable from their very life.

[792] The marabouts, whose arbitration was exercised not only to stop the battles of cantons and tribes but also to settle in compliance with equity differences of a private nature, disappeared first; no longer do we see them intervene with sheiks and kaids to defend the poor and weak as they were privileged to do with the senates of "inflas" in the time of freedom. The old tribal law
[671] ceases to be /413/ applied and often the day of submission marks
[693] that of its effacement. It makes way for the more distant and abstract justice of the cadis, whose complaisance toward the new leaders is obvious.

*[634] At the same time, most of the economic institutions of the
[343] small Berbère /Berber/ cantons, whose regular functioning re-
[712] quired the deliberation of family representatives, are smitten with
[652] decline; the agadirs fall in ruins, the common treasuries are
[466] squandered, the corvées for mutual aid become irregular, main-
[653] tenance of the séguias and roads, even the protection of the crops are no longer the object of the same care as in former times.

Finally, ownership of the land, so profoundly disturbed in cer-
[423] tain regions near the casbahs of the great chiefs, becomes uncer-
[166] tain; the constitution of the large domains of the kaids of the Atlas entails, in a country already too poor to feed its inhabitants, the disappearance of a large number of villages and the progressive exodus of the Berbères /Berbers/ toward regions where the security of possessions and persons is more certain.

[735] When the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is established without intermediaries and allows all its weight to bear down on the tribes, thanks to the unlimited authority of foreign leaders, one sees profound poverty develop; one of the most constant principles

*631 /413 cont./
648 of the government is indeed to keep the most turbulent popula-
17 tions, or the ones most intense about winning back their liberty,
-[735] calm by crushing them with ceaselessly renewed contributions.

It is easy to understand that the Berbères /Berbers/, thus shut
*631 up in this field of ruins, soon come to associate in their minds
648 the Makhzen with a regime of peace, oppression, and poverty,
17 while the more disturbed government of the independent republics
153 alone seems to them capable of preserving the life of the institu-
tions of their villages. In the servitude into which they have
fallen, the development of anarchy appears to them as the only
guarantee of the prosperity of families and of respect for traditions.
[669] The "siba," the revolt, for which the Sultan's death is the awaited
signal, becomes both an instinctive movement of defense against
intolerable domination and an appeal to the internal forces of lib-
eration: consequently, this explains why the first act of the tribe
after destroying the kaid's house is, by a kind of unconscious ges-
ture of the collective memory, to assemble the notables /414/ in
order to restore, in a form that we still recognize, the patriarchal
government of ancient times.

648 VII. The future of Moroccan Berbérie /Barbary/. -- For 20
years the establishment of France in Morocco has entirely modified
the respective situation of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the inde-
pendent tribes. But it is especially since the period in which the
progress of pacification multiplied our direct relations with the
populations of the former "bled es siba" that the Berbère /Berber/
country has manifested, sometimes under tragic circumstances,
signs of a vitality whose deep meaning we may henceforth no
longer hide from ourselves.

During the first years of our Protectorate, the problems of our
establishment and the organization of a country ruined by revolts
were first of all associated with the restoration of the decadent in-
stitutions of the Sherifian Empire. The natural play of diplomatic
action, the obligations of international treaties -- whose tenor im-
plied the existence of a Morocco similar to the European states,
united, centralized, regularly governed according to definite

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

by Hart (1954) for the Riffian tribe of Beni Uriaguel (Ait Wari- 000
yaghri, 99) (This description is closely followed below). Here we find each house widely separated from its neighbors – both in consideration of availability of water and adaptability for defense – and providing shelter usually for a man, his unmarried brothers and sisters, his wife or wives, and his unmarried children. This household, however, does not constitute the entire extended family; the rest of it, to be found in houses some 1000 feet distant or more, includes the man's married brothers, and their wives and unmarried children. This family, therefore, may consist of anywhere from one to ten separate households, and may number as many as fifty people, spread over three to four generations. Once the sons marry, they usually set up housekeeping on their own, but always within the family circle; married daughters go to reside with their husband's family. Once the last surviving member of the oldest generation dies off, the old extended family splits into as many new extended families as there were married brothers originally (Hart, 1954, pp. 58-59).

Ownership of property is concentrated in the hands of the family 596
elders, who parcel it out to their married sons on a provisional or on 42
a permanent basis. If the former, the land goes back for redistribution among all the sons after the father's death; if the latter, the favored son needs a document signed by two public notaries proving that the land is his. If there are few sons, the eldest, if he is a sensible and honest man, is usually chosen to act as property administrator for all after the death of the father. With many sons the amount of land becomes too difficult to administer as a single unit and is usually divided up among the sons. If any of the family land is held [562]
by daughters, these are usually induced to sell their holdings to their brothers upon marriage, so that these remain in the hands of the family (Hart, 1954, p. 59).

Throughout the Berber territory the extended family may in 596
some cases enlarge its size by admitting strangers. These are usually 597
persons in desparate financial circumstances who have had to sell 735
their property in order to pay off a fine or a blood money debt 609
assessed by their council, such an individual feeling ashamed to remain in his own village or fearing further reprisal, migrates to

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

some other part of the country. If he stops among the Riffians or Shluh he may hire himself out to a landowner in a village; among the Beraber he may put himself under the protection of an influential member by sacrificing a sheep in front of his protector's house or tent as a shame compulsion. In either case he resides with the extended family and contributes his labor; he does not become a member with inheritance rights, however, unless he marries into the extended family with the authorization of the council of elders. This custom of enlarging the household through "adoption" was particularly important in the periods of vendatta warfare, allowing a family to replenish its possibly decimated ranks (Coon, 1931, pp. 90-91; Montagne, 1930, pp. 43-44; Spillman, 1936, p. 44; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 520-528, 535-536).

c. *Minor Lineages*

Those extended families which can trace their descent through the male line form a common ancestor six or eight generations removed form a minor lineage (minor in the sense that larger lineages may occur). In most Berber tribes this is the largest unit to be based on blood alone. The minor lineage is known among the Shluh as an *ikhs* (pl. *ikhsan*; "bone") or *afus* (pl. *ifassen*; "hand") (Adam, 1951, pp. 39, 69; Berque, 1955, pp. 30-40; Doutté, 1905, p. 8; Montagne, 1930, pp. 43-44, 151; Querleux, 1915, p. 21); as an *asoun* (pl. *issoun*), *tigemmi* (pl. *tigumma*, "house"), or *adouar* (pl. *idouaren*; from Arabic *douar*, "camp circle") among the Beraber (Abes, 1917, pp. 187-188; Deverdun, 1952, p. 312; Querleux, 1915, p. 22); as an *ikhs* or *tarfiqth* (pl. *tarfiqin*) among the Riffians (Coon, 1931, p. 90; Hart, 1954, pp. 60-63); and as an *ikhs* among the Zenata (Marcy, 1929, p. 138). It has been variously designated in the literature as a "family" (Doutte, 1905; Montagne, 1930; Querleux, 1915), a "village-segment" or *hauma* (Coon, 1931, Montagne, 1930), a "village" (Coon, 1931), or a "clan" (Abes, 1917; Hart, 1954; Querleux, 1915). The minor lineage may, under certain conditions, constitute a village-segment, and under other conditions, a village – the correspondence of such a kinship group with such a population focus being a matter of great variability and confusion. It is not, however, a clan, for it is endogamous under most circumstances,